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VOLUME XXVI, No. 3

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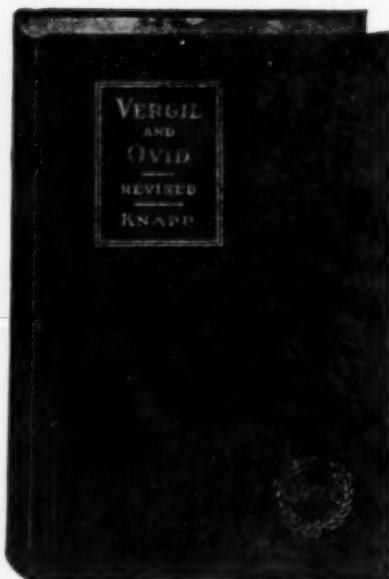
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XENOPHON'S PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WIFE¹

Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* contains two passages (3.10-15 and 7.4-10.13) in which the relations of husband and wife are discussed.

The first passage contrasts the success, from a purely economic point of view, of some marriages with the failure of others. The wealthy young Critobulus has appealed to Socrates for advice in managing his affairs; he wishes to put his resources to the most profitable use that he can. Socrates, however, declares that there are other persons far more expert than himself in the matters in which the young man desires instruction. From them Critobulus may learn the secrets of success, for they, by dint of intelligent effort, have derived great profit from undertakings which have reduced less careful and less diligent persons to poverty. Socrates then gives a series of examples of the profitable and unprofitable employment of identical assets. Some men, he says, spend large sums in building unsuitable houses, while others for much less money build houses that are entirely satisfactory; some possess a multitude of costly belongings which are of no use to them and the care of which is a source of constant worry to themselves and their servants, while others, who possess not more, but less, have whatever they want ready for use; in some households practically all the servants are fettered and nevertheless are continually attempting to run away, whereas in others they are under no restraint and yet are willing to do their work and remain where they are; some owners of farms are poverty-stricken, while others, with no better land to work, prosper and have everything they want; some are ruined by keeping horses, while others make this pay and derive honor from it besides; finally, in some households marriage is a profitable, in others an unprofitable, partnership. This last discussion runs as follows (3.10-15)²:

'I can show you, too, continued Socrates, that some men treat their wives in a way that secures their constant cooperation, so that as a result of the joint efforts of husband and wife their property is increased, while the treatment other men accord their wives leads to complete ruin'.

'Is it the husband or the wife, Socrates, inquired Critobulus, who should be blamed for that?'

'If a sheep is ailing, replied Socrates, we ordinarily blame the shepherd, and, if a horse is unmanageable, we find fault with the rider. With regard to a wife, on the other hand, if she has received instruction in the right way of doing things at the hands of her husband and yet does badly, perhaps she is the one who should

properly be blamed; if, however, the husband fails to instruct her in the way of excellence and consequently finds her ignorant of this, is not he the one who deserves to be held responsible? At any rate, Critobulus, answer this question truthfully, for all of us here are friends: Is there any one whom you intrust with a greater number of important concerns than your wife?'

'No'.

'Is there any one with whom you converse less than with your wife?'

'Not many persons, I must admit'.

'You married her when she was a mere child and had seen and heard nothing more than could possibly be helped?'

'Of course'.

'Would it not, then, be far more surprising if she understood how she ought to speak and act than if she made mistakes?'

'But, Socrates, said Critobulus, how about those husbands whose wives, you say, are good wives? Did they really train them themselves?'

'There's nothing like investigation, was Socrates's reply. I shall arrange a meeting between you and Aspasia, who will explain all this to you with fuller understanding than I possess. My opinion is that the wife who is the right kind of partner in handling the affairs of the household is the peer of her husband in contributing to its welfare. For the family income is brought in largely through the husband's efforts, while the expenditures are administered for the most part by the wife. Now, if both these operations are skilfully carried on, the estate is increased; but if they are incompetently performed, it is diminished'.

In the other, and much longer, passage (7.4-10.13) Socrates is reporting part of a conversation he once had with a certain Ischomachus, whose reputation among his fellow-citizens and success in the management of his own property gave him an incontestable claim to be considered an authority on the matters in which Critobulus craves instruction. He is represented, indeed, as embodying all the admirable qualities then held in esteem and as fully deserving the appellation of *καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός*: in short, he is represented as the ideal type of Greek gentleman³.

Socrates, in relating the circumstances of his first meeting with Ischomachus, tells how, after being introduced to him, he had remarked to his new acquaintance that the latter's physical condition clearly indicated that he did not spend his time indoors, and how Ischomachus had replied that there was no necessity for him to do so because his wife was quite capable of managing the domestic affairs by herself. Socrates then asked him whether his wife had come to him already trained by her parents in the responsibilities of

¹This paper was read at the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at the Central High School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 6-7, 1932.

²In my renderings of the Greek text here and elsewhere in this paper I have occasionally incorporated happy turns of expression from the excellent translations of the dialogue by H. G. Dakyns (*The Works of Xenophon*, Volume III, Part I (London, Macmillan and Company, 1897)) and by E. C. Marchant (*Xenophon, Memorabilia and Oeconomicus*, The Loeb Classical Library (London, William Heinemann, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923)).

³Ischomachus is the real protagonist of the greater part of the *Oeconomicus*; the report of the conversation with him, in which he does most of the talking, occupies more than two-thirds of the entire work, and forms a dialogue within a dialogue. The reason for Xenophon's employment of this literary device was undoubtedly that it would have been entirely too great a strain upon verisimilitude to represent the confirmed idler Socrates, who was so notoriously negligent in all matters relating to money and the household, as discoursing in his own name on the details of the successful management of property.

the mistress of a household or whether he had trained her himself. Here is Ischomachus's answer (7.5-6):

'Why, what knowledge could she have brought with her? She was less than fifteen years old when she came to me as my wife, and up to that time the utmost care had been taken that she should see and hear as little as possible and should ask the fewest possible questions. Could one expect more of her than that she should know how to take wool, when it was given to her, and turn out a finished garment, and should have seen how tasks at spinning are assigned to the maids? As regards control of her appetite, to be sure, she had been admirably trained before she came to me; that I take to be of the utmost importance to man and woman alike'.

Ischomachus then tells how he had not begun his course of training until he had offered sacrifice and prayed that he might teach and she might learn what was best for them both, and how his wife had joined in the sacrifices and prayers with many a vow to become all that she ought to be and in a manner that clearly showed that she would not disregard what was taught her'.

When Ischomachus found the shy little creature that he had taken into his home sufficiently docile and domesticated (the Greek words are terms used with reference to the taming of animals), he made a long speech to her on marriage as a partnership, dwelling on the differences between the sexes and the consequent division of functions between the husband and the wife; the former, he said, was responsible for the activities which must be carried on away from home, the latter for those which must be carried on indoors. He discusses one by one the specific duties which devolve upon the mistress of the household—caring for the children, training and managing the servants, looking after what is brought into the house and making judicious use of it, tending the sick, and so on. He works in an elaborate comparison between the functions of the wife in the household and those of the queen bee in the hive (a passage, it is needless to say, of greater ethical than entomological value). One remark of the young bride may be quoted here, for it illustrates the naive enthusiasm with which she assumes the responsibilities of her new position; when Ischomachus suggests that there is one duty which she may find pretty thankless, that of taking care of the servants when they are ill, she replies (7.37):

'Oh no, it will be the pleasantest of tasks, if those who are carefully tended are going to feel gratitude for what is done and be more loyal than before'.

The next lesson was one in orderliness. The inability of the youthful wife—to her own great discomfiture, be it said—to produce on a certain occasion something wanted by Ischomachus served as the starting-point for a sermon on the text 'A place for everything and everything in its place'. Choral dances,

armies, ships are called upon to furnish illustrations of the beauty and the effectiveness of good order. Ischomachus digresses at this point to describe for Socrates's benefit a large Phoenician merchantman he had once inspected; he tells with the greatest enthusiasm about the marvellously precise and efficient arrangement of everything, down to the minutest detail, on board this ship. He then returns to the talk he had with his wife on this subject of orderliness in the household and quotes more of what he said to her. In discussing the topic he had grown actually rhapsodical (8.19-20):

'How beautiful a sight it is to see the different kinds of shoes laid out in tidy rows, to see the garments of various sorts kept separate in places of their own, to see the bedding, the bronze kettles, the table-ware, everything neatly in its place! A frivolous person might make fun of me for claiming that there is beauty in the orderly arrangement even of pots and pans set out in trim array—but no sensible man would! For each group of utensils has the appearance of a carefully marshalled company, and the spaces between the groups take on a beauty of their own; each group is like a band of dancers round an altar, which is not only a beautiful spectacle in itself but lends beauty to the space left clear by its evolutions'.

This discourse was followed by a tour of the house; the uses for which its various parts were best adapted were pointed out, and the most suitable places for keeping different things were indicated. The articles for everyday use were separated from those which were needed only for special occasions, and a place was found for everything.

After this there were some further admonitions emphasizing the gravity and the extent of the wife's responsibilities. She, in her turn, however, declared that her husband was mistaken if he supposed that by telling her she must take good care of their belongings he was imposing upon her an irksome task; it would have been more irksome to have been told to neglect what was hers than to be under the obligation of looking after these valued possessions of her own home—a remark which elicited from Socrates an admiring exclamation about her truly masculine intelligence!

The last of the talks with his young wife which Ischomachus reports was occasioned by her appearance one day all decked out in the equivalents then in vogue of powder, rouge, and high-heeled shoes. Ischomachus (who, like Dante many centuries after him, admired the type of woman that comes from her mirror with face unpainted⁶) explained at considerable length why he disapproved of her tricking herself out in this artificial manner. The protest was effective. The cosmetics and the objectionable footwear immediately disappeared and were never seen again. But the young wife took the opportunity to inquire how she might make herself really beautiful instead of merely seeming to be so. Her husband's reply was this (10.10):

'Don't remain sitting down all the time like a slave, but try, with Heaven's help, to act as a true mistress

⁶A charming parallel is found in an early fifteenth-century treatise of uncertain authorship, *Del Governo della Famiglia*, which is closely modelled upon the *Oeconomicus*. Its author, in the words of J. A. Symonds, quoted in Dakyns's translation (see note 2, above), l. 1, "describes how, when he was first married, he took his wife over the house, and gave up to her care all its contents. Then he went into their bedroom and made her kneel with him before Madonna, and prayed to God to give them wealth, friends, and male children". This was followed by much good advice, derived largely from Xenophon.

⁷*Paradiso*, 13.112-114. Compare, too, the remarks of the indignant farmer in Alciphron's *Letters* (2.8.3). His wife was given to imitating the gay ladies of the city, who, according to this blunt countryman, used more paint on their faces than artists used for their pictures; so he told her quite plainly that, if she had any sense, she would confine herself to the use of soap and water.

should. Stand at the loom, and, when something comes up that you know more about, give instruction; when it is the other way around, learn what you can. Oversee the baking woman; stand by the housekeeper when she is serving out her stores; go on tours of inspection through the house, and see whether everything is in its place'.

In reporting this to Socrates he added (10.10-11):

'I thought this would give her a walk as well as something to do. I also told her that it was excellent exercise to mix flour and knead dough, to shake out and fold garments and bedclothes, and that, if she exercised in this way, she would improve her appetite, her health, and her complexion without fail'.

After a further observation to Socrates on the way housework among her maidservants enhances a woman's looks and a statement that his wife's personal appearance has continued to be in accord with his admonitions, Ischomachus turns, at Socrates's suggestion, to other topics.

It is a picture one does not easily forget, this picture of the girl bride, so inexperienced but so eager, listening meekly, intently, and, one gathers, admiringly, to the rather stilted lectures of her new husband. The husband, even though modern readers are likely to find in him at least a trace of priggishness, is assuredly Xenophon himself. During the preliminary conversation between Socrates and Critobulus we are often aware that it is Xenophon and not the historical Socrates who is speaking through the mouth of the Socrates of the dialogue. When we come to the discussions of Ischomachus, there is no further uncertainty; we are entirely convinced that Xenophon is addressing us throughout under the very thinnest of disguises. As for the little saint of a wife whose training he so charmingly describes, she is none other, we may be sure, than Xenophon's own wife, whose name, as Diogenes Laertius (2.52) tells us, was Philesia, though to what extent her portrait is an idealized one must necessarily remain an open question. One cannot quite help wondering whether Philesia was in actual life as good-natured and amenable to her husband's views as was the young lady in the dialogue. How far, we ask ourselves, is Xenophon's delightful picture merely a reflection of what he would have liked her to be?

One wonders, too, how far this account of what may be called Philesia's education reflects the normal Greek attitude of the time toward women and marriage. The account is, of course, one of the important pieces of evidence on the subject. But there is clearly need for discrimination in dealing with this evidence. We are, indeed, confronted with a question of basic importance. To what extent is Xenophon presenting the normal and accepted views of his generation and to what extent is he presenting individual notions of his own?

This question, to be sure, has often been ignored or glossed over by those who have mentioned the dialogue in their writings. A recent work, for example, contains the following statement*:

... the attitude of a typical, well-bred Greek to women and marriage can be studied in one of the smaller works of Xenophon, a treatise on household management containing a chapter on the training of the housewife that is both charming and amusing.

*M. L. W. Laistner, *Greek History*, 343 (Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1932).

This, of course, is a strictly accurate assertion. It is entirely correct to describe Xenophon as "a typical, well-bred Greek", but it does not inevitably follow that his attitude toward women and marriage was altogether typical. The very fact that Xenophon devotes so much attention in this short treatise to the subject of the relationship of husband and wife necessarily leads the reader to suppose that he felt that he had something original and important to say about it. It is perhaps worth while, therefore, to attempt to distinguish the characteristically Greek and the peculiarly Xenophonic elements in the discussion.

What, then, are the commonly accepted notions which Xenophon seems to take for granted concerning marriages in general, and what are the particulars in which Ischomachus's (i. e. we may suppose, Xenophon's own) marital experience is deemed superior to that of most other persons?

The assumptions regarding marriage which Xenophon shares with his contemporaries are apparently the following:

(1) That the girl will still be a mere child, about fourteen years old, when she is married¹.

(2) That the girl, up to the time of her marriage, will have led a very sheltered life and will have had practically no education, in our sense of the term. Socrates does ask (7.4) whether Ischomachus's wife had come to him already trained by her parents in the responsibilities of the mistress of a household, but the implication is that it would have been something very unusual if she had received any such training. Ischomachus seems to consider himself fortunate in getting a wife who had been trained to exercise self-control in eating and drinking. That, he suggests (7.6), is about as much as one could expect in the way of previous training. One wonders, to be sure, whether the treatment of girl children in the Greek household was as a rule quite so repressive as that described here—not only does Ischomachus say of his wife (7.5) that up to the time of her marriage 'the utmost care had been taken that she should see and hear as little as possible and should ask the fewest possible questions', but in the earlier passage (3.13) Socrates similarly asks Critobulus, 'You married your wife when she was a mere child and had seen and heard nothing more than could possibly be helped?', and the answer is, 'Of course'—, or whether Xenophon's views on this subject were a trifle stricter than the ordinary, so that he was laying special stress on something he personally regarded as desirable. Whatever the answer to this question may be, however, there seems to be no doubt that the normal Greek girl's life before marriage was on the whole very restricted; even if Xenophon's attitude was more uncompromisingly severe than that of the average person, the difference can not have been very great².

¹It must be remembered, of course, that maturity is reached at an earlier age in Mediterranean lands than in regions where there is greater annual variation in temperature. Fourteen is said to be a common age for the marriage of girls in Greece to-day, especially outside the cities.

²How sharp the break was that marriage marked in a Greek girl's life is strikingly brought out in a passage translated from U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, in A. E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*, 335 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1924).

(3) That the wife will have had nothing to say regarding the choice of a husband. Ischomachus speaks of the arrangements as having been made by his wife's parents and himself. At the beginning of his first discourse to his bride he says (7.10-11),

'Tell me, my dear, have you realized the reason for my taking you and for your parents' giving you to me? You understand as well as I do, I am sure, that there was no lack of other persons who might have shared our beds. But I for myself and your parents for you took thought as to who would be the best partner that we could find in maintaining a household and in rearing children. My choice fell on you, and your parents, it seems, chose me as the best available'.

The dowry to be brought by the wife was, of course, an important factor in these arrangements.

(4) That there will be little in the way of intellectual companionship between husband and wife. It will be remembered that Socrates asked Critobulus (3.12), 'Is there any one with whom you converse less than with your wife?'

(5) That the wife will be at home and indoors practically all the time. Ischomachus says, in so many words (7.35), *δεήσει σε εὖδοον μένειν*; this notion recurs repeatedly. The husband, on the other hand, will be largely occupied away from home, in outside duties. Indeed, the basic thought underlying much of Ischomachus's first talk with his wife might be expressed in these terms, 'Woman's place is in the home, and man's place, most of the time, is outside it'. Here again, one is tempted to wonder whether there may not be some slight exaggeration, whether the life of the average Greek woman in Xenophon's day was quite as sedentary and confined as is here suggested, or whether Xenophon's views were more than ordinarily straight-laced. Indeed, it has been contended⁹ that the *Oeconomicus* was in part a reactionary protest against the increasing freedom from restraint which women were enjoying in the fourth century. But, even if the life which Xenophon advocated for the housewife was more restricted than contemporary opinion demanded, it seems clear that a picture of a woman who remained constantly indoors and found her most exhilarating form of exercise in her ordinary household activities would not have appeared startling to a reader of Xenophon's own time¹⁰.

(6) That the wife will have complete charge of the house and of all who work in it, and that her efficiency or inefficiency in performing her duties may lead to great prosperity or to utter ruin.

These are all assumptions which, we may suppose, most other Greeks of Xenophon's time would have

accepted with little question. In contrast with these, what were the less familiar ideas which he desired to present to his readers? In a treatise the subject of which, as indicated by its title, is the management of a household (and farm), one would expect that the views which the author would wish to stress would have to do with efficiency in this field. Such is the case. The points to which Xenophon seems to be calling special attention, apart from his views on incidental matters, such as orderliness and the use of cosmetics, are these, both relating to the economic aspect of marriage:

(1) That marriage is a partnership—a partnership in running a household and bringing up a family, a *κοινωνία οίκου τε καὶ τέκνων* (7.11)—, and that both partners contribute financially, the wife with her dowry and the husband with all that he has;

(2) That the wise husband will instruct his wife and give her training in the management of the household—though this is a task in which many husbands are negligent—, and that, if the wife does not turn out to be a good manager, it is usually the husband's fault.

It is not my purpose in this paper to review the evidence regarding the position of women in Greece and the way they were treated in different places and in different periods. The familiar statements of the older handbooks about 'Athenian contempt' for women and the 'Oriental seclusion' in which they lived have been vigorously, and, to some extent, at least, successfully challenged¹¹. It seems reasonably clear that the average Athenian wife was not condemned to quite so dismal an existence as has often been asserted. Indeed, there are good grounds for believing that Greek women were not only no worse off, but actually in some respects better off, than their sisters have been in certain parts of southern Europe even in quite modern times. Yet, in spite of these facts it cannot be denied that there was much in the normal Greek attitude toward women which was deserving of criticism¹². Xenophon, however, was not a person from whom we should expect any critical opposition to the traditional views. We have seen that his assumptions regarding marriage probably coincided for the most part with those current in his day (though his point of view regarding certain matters may have been a trifle stricter than the ordinary), and that what novelty there was in his discussion related almost wholly to the means of promoting efficiency in household management. It is my opinion, in short, that the life the little lady of the *Oeconomicus* was expected to lead was fairly typical of the life of married women of the well-to-do

⁹By Ivo Bruns, see W. v. Christ, *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur*, von Wilhelm Schmid, 511, note 7 (Munich, Beck, 1912).

¹⁰If the contention of a recent article, entitled *Veiled Ladies*, by Professor Caroline M. Galt (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 35 [1931], 373-393), that it was 'the prevailing custom in Athens and possibly throughout Greece' in the fifth and the fourth centuries for married women, when they appeared in public, to have 'their faces... veiled up to their eyes', is correct, it lends strong support to the more extreme view regarding the seclusion in which Greek women lived. It should be noted, however, (1) that, formidable as is the array of archaeological evidence which Professor Galt has gathered, it does not supply absolute proof of the universality of the practice, especially as some of the evidence is open to a different interpretation, and (2) that the only piece of literary evidence adduced in support of the theory (Plutarch, *Moralia* 232 C, in the *Apophthegmata Laconica*) is a remark attributed to an early ruler of Sparta!

¹¹Notably in the interesting and important article by A. W. Gomme, *The Position of Women in Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries*, *Classical Philology* 20 (1925), 1-25. Professor Gomme maintains that undue weight has been given to isolated scraps of evidence, that bits of cynical humor have been taken too seriously, and that the commonly accepted views regarding the status of women are contradicted by the dignified and sympathetic portrayal of women in the literature and art, as well as by known facts concerning the activities of individual women. Professor Gomme's opinion of the *Oeconomicus* as evidence on this subject will be sufficiently clear from the following statement (20, note 2): 'Xenophon is supposed to give us a complete picture of the ideal Athenian wife, as if Xenophon gives us a complete picture of anything'.

¹²What seems to me the sanest and most satisfactory statement of the position of women in Greece is to be found in F. R. Earp, *The Way of the Greeks*, 50-59, 118-120 (Oxford: University Press, Humphrey Milford, London, 1929).

class in Greece in the fifth and the fourth centuries B. C.¹³

In closing, it may not be amiss to quote a passage which shows that, even if Xenophon at times represents his mouthpiece, Ischomachus, as adopting what seems to us a somewhat patronising air toward his young bride, his attitude toward women (at least toward those who proved themselves capable housewives) was far from contemptuous. It is an attitude, moreover, which, we may well believe, was not uncommon in that age. Ischomachus, almost at the end of his first talk with his wife, is made to say (7.42):

'But the greatest happiness of all will result from showing yourself better than I am and making me your servant, from not having to fear that, as the years advance, the honor paid you at home will diminish, but confidently expecting that, as you grow older and become a better and better partner for me and guardian of the home for our children, this honor will increase'.

The life upon which the Greek girl entered when she was taken as a bride to her husband's home may have been a circumscribed and tedious life, but it was not necessarily lacking in dignity and satisfaction.

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE

L. R. SHERO

A History of Later Latin Literature From the Middle of the Fourth to the End of the Seventeenth Century. By F. A. Wright and T. A. Sinclair. New York: The Macmillan Company (1931). Pp. vii + 418. \$4.75.

The subject of the book by Messrs. Wright and Sinclair here under review is clearly stated in its title. Its purpose (Preface, vii) is to supply a much needed manual, since "... in English there is no book, long or short, which treats exclusively of Latin literature from the fourth to the seventeenth century of our era. ..."

To discuss in 397 pages the intellectual output of almost thirteen centuries is a very difficult task. The authors, aware of this difficulty, call their book (Preface, vii) "... an attempt to deal with a large subject in a brief space. ...". This tentative and selective character of the book, which involves a wide use of private judgment and taste (for example, in the case of medieval prose the authors' avowed purpose is to give [201] "... rather a survey than a detailed history ..."), makes the task of a reviewer of the book exceptionally difficult. Opinions and tastes about what authors should be included in such a book or excluded from it inevitably differ widely. Yet I find it difficult to conceive of a real History of Latin Literature From the Middle of the Fourth to the End of the Seventeenth Century which should pass over in silence Marsilius of Padua, or William of Ockham¹, as is done in this book. Nor can I see the reason why "... the 'Sarmatian Horace' ...", the Polish-Latin poet, Casimir Sarbiewski (393), a favorite of Pope Urban VIII, deserves only the brief statement that he does not merit fuller treatment,

¹³The evidence for any significant change in the mode of life of Greek women during these two centuries is to my mind insufficient.

¹He is mentioned twice in the book. On page 264 he is casually mentioned, as "William of Ockham", in connection with Duns Scotus; the name "Ockham" does not appear in the Index. On page 358 the name "Occam" is mentioned. This reference is listed in the Index under "Occam".

and why Clemens Janicki (of the sixteenth century), a countryman of Sarbiewski and an elegiac poet of remarkable ability, is not mentioned. If serious treatment of an author is not necessary, why is he named at all? Of this faulty practice I shall cite additional examples below. It would have been far better to entitle the book A Brief Survey, etc.

We must therefore realize at the outset that comprehensiveness, completeness, and the analysis of those forces which are responsible for the life of literature are not to be found in this book.

That the authors succeeded in including within the compass of the book as much as they did is due in part to the fact that they dispense entirely with documentation. While I do not expect thorough documentation in a book of this kind, the omission of all documentation from a work which is likely to be widely used as a guide is most distressing. Though a competent scholar is usually able to check quickly statements whose inaccuracy he may suspect, a beginner or a layman is not in such an enviable position.

Let me give an example. Geoffrey of Monmouth, the author of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, maintains in his *Praefatio* that 'Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford', gave him 'quendam Britannici sermonis librum vetustissimum', which he (Geoffrey) translated into Latin. According to our authors (224) this 'Walter' is Walter Map. Geoffrey's *Historia* was finished between 1136 and 1139²; Geoffrey died about 1154. But Walter Map was born about 1140, according to Manitius³; our authors (233) date his birth as "c. 1137. ...". Map, indeed, was Archdeacon of Oxford, but in 1197; on this date both Manitius⁴ and our authors (234) agree. Of course Walter Map had no relations whatever with Geoffrey. The 'Walter' in question was Walter Calenius, who lived during the reigns of Henry the First and Stephen⁵. A mistake of this kind is serious; the research and the care required by a proper practice of pertinent documentation would have been a helpful factor in preventing such mistakes.

On page 68, in a discussion of Orosius's authorities, we find the statement that Jerome's Eusebius was "possibly" one of them. There is, however, no doubt that Orosius borrowed his chronology from Jerome. "Chronici Eusebii, ab Hieronymo Latine redditus auctisque et continuatis, usum esse Orosium certum est, sed usus est Hieronymi exemplari aucto iam et immutato. ...", says C. Zangemeister⁶. Orosius also used Eusebius's Church History, in the version of Rufinus⁷.

On the whole, however, the book has value. Though it is compressed, and even catalogue-like in places, its contents are, after all, not limited to a dry enumeration of facts and names. The book is very vividly written,

²See Max Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3.475-476 (Munich, Beck, 1931).

³*Ibidem*, 264. ⁴*Ibidem*, 264. ⁵*Ibidem*, 478.

⁶In his *Editio Maior of Orosius*, in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 5.XXIV (Vienna, 1882). In the Bibliography of the book under review (303) mention is not made of this edition of Orosius, or of the *Editio Minor of Orosius* by Zangemeister (Leipzig, Teubner, 1880). Compare also Eleanor S. Duckett, *Latin Writers of the Fifth Century*, 249, note 18 (New York, Henry Holt, 1930), and Martin Schanz, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, 4. Part 2, 488 (Munich, Beck, 1920).

⁷Schanz, 486 (see note 6, above).

and its readableness is enhanced by many excellent poetic translations, whose value is unquestionable.

The contents of the book are as follows:

Contents (v-vi); Preface (vii); Introduction (1-7); Part I. The Age of Augustine (331-430) (11-64); Part II. The Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Centuries (430-732) (67-133); Part III. The Carolingian and the Ottonian Revivals (732-1002) (137-198); Part IV. Medieval Prose (1002-1321) (201-269); Part V. Medieval Poetry (1002-1321) (273-331); Part VI. The Renaissance Latinists (1321-1674) (335-397); Epilogue (398-399); Select Bibliography (401-408); Index (409-418).

In the Introduction the authors rightly express (1) the belief that Latin literature should be treated as a whole, from its beginnings to the seventeenth century, when Latin ceased to be the universal language. The authors then explain (1-3) why a history of this entire period has not been written; much blame for the omission is placed at the door of the classicists. There follows a short survey of Minucius Felix, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius.

Each Part of the book begins with a short historical introduction. Among the more important authors treated in Part I we find Ambrose, Symmachus, Ausonius, Prudentius, Macrobius, Augustine, Claudian, Jerome, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Martianus Capella. Poets and prose writers are treated together. Though there is nothing new in these accounts, they contain the essential facts and present good characterizations of the authors that are discussed. In mentioning Jerome's work on the hermit Malchus (54), it would not have been amiss to remark that a twelfth-century English poet, Reginaldus of Canterbury, based on Jerome's work his epic on the life of Malchus. No mention is made of this fact in the few lines devoted to Reginald (306).

In Part II the authors that are discussed range from Orosius to Bede. We find here interesting accounts of Apollinaris Sidonius, Boethius, Gregory of Tours, and Gregory the Great. On the other hand, the poets of the biblical history of the fifth century are sadly neglected. Of Claudius Marius Victor and Dracontius—the latter is the most important poet that Africa produced—not a word is said. Five lines hardly do justice to Alcimius Avitus (79). These writers were not of the first order, but the omission of these authors and the sketchy treatment of Avitus leave a gap in the book which students will have to fill by consulting J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 23.54-56), and Professor Eleanor Shipley Duckett's book, *Latin Writers of the Fifth Century*.

Ennodius (80; compare 78) fares just as badly as Avitus. His work, as Mr. Raby pointed out (117), "... is of interest because it shows that at the end of the fifth century the pagan tradition in Italy was strong, and that Ausonius and Sidonius were not without successors..." Hence the dismissal of Avitus and Ennodius in a few lines does them scant justice. This is

<In the book in the title of this chapter 'and' is represented sometimes by its own proper self, sometimes by the disreputable ampersand. The latter will find no place in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*. C. K.>

true also of the few lines assigned to Pontano and Sanazaro (354).

Too much space is given to the historical works of Bede, for which, to be sure, he is well known. While the authors are fully aware (128) that the theological works "... should not be overlooked in any estimate of the Venerable Bede...", the omission of these works, as "outside the scope of this book...", leaves the picture of Bede incomplete. A fine estimate of Bede's theological works can be found in Professor W. L. M. Laistner's book, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A. D. 500-900*, 123-127 (Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, New York, 1931).

Alcuin, Einhard, Paul the Deacon, Walafrid Strabo, Sedulius Scotus, Scotus Erigena, Liutprand, Hroswitha are among the writers treated in Part III. The title of one of Walafrid Strabo's works (161) is not "*Hortulus*", nor "*De cultu horticorum*", but *Liber De Cultura Hortorum*⁹. Excellent are the account of Liutprand (175-183), and that of Hroswitha (183-190). Readers who missed a discussion of Hroswitha in Mr. Raby's book will certainly welcome it here. But the account of Servatus Lupus (164-165) does not do justice to this forerunner of the Renaissance humanists. A more scholarly account is to be found in J. E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*¹⁰, 1.486-490 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1921). For the most elaborate treatment one must turn to Professor C. H. Beeson's book, *Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic* (*THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 25.53-54)¹⁰, a work with which the authors seem not to be familiar.

Up to this point the authors of the book under review treated poets and prose writers together. In Part IV they introduce a sharp division between prose and poetry. The prose works of Peter Damiani, Thomas Aquinas, Abelard, and others are treated in Part IV; the treatment of their poetry is reserved for Part V. Interesting discussions are found in Part IV of Ekkehard IV, John of Salisbury, Giraldus Cambrensis, Caesarius of Heisterbach, Roger Bacon, and Dante. Lampert of Hersfeld, however, certainly deserves more than passing mention (203); so does Vincent of Beauvais (256). The account of Geoffrey of Monmouth (223-226) is antiquated. It does not show familiarity with the recent editions of Griscom¹¹ and Paral¹². Their contributions are not even mentioned in the Bibliography. More ought to be said on the *Prophetiae Merlini* (225), and mention ought to have been made either here or in the account of Alan of Lille (301-303) of the fact that Alan wrote a commentary on the *Prophetiae Merlini*. Geoffrey's epic, the *Vita Merlini*¹³, is not mentioned. On page 226 we read: "... <King Arthur> subdues Ireland, defeats the Picts and Scots at Loch Lomond, conquers Orkney, Iceland,

⁹Compare Manitius, 1.309 (see note 2, above).

¹⁰See also the excellent account of Lupus given by Professor Laistner, 205-211 (see the preceding paragraph of the text), in which the results of Professor Beeson's researches are embodied.

¹¹The *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, by Acton Griscom (Longmans, Green, and Company, New York, 1929).

¹²La Légende Arthurienne: Études et Documents. Par Edmond Paral (Three volumes. Champion, Paris, 1929).

¹³Edited by Professor J. J. Parry, of the University of Illinois (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 10 [1925], 251-380).

Norway, Gotland and Dacia (!), and all their vassal kings attend his coronation. . . . Dacia, as seen by the exclamation mark, surprises the authors. I make the suggestion, which I base on many years of study of the manuscripts of Geoffrey, that "Dacia" ought to be emended into 'Dania'.

The omission from Part IV of the great historian of the Crusades, William of Tyre, and of Otto of Freising is inexcusable.

Part V, on Medieval Poetry, is exceptionally well written. It contains, besides other things, a good discussion of the Cambridge Songs (281-286)¹⁴, the English Satirists (303-308), and the Carmina Burana (324-331). But the account of Neckham, and that of John of Garland (308) are lifeless. The latter was professor not only at Toulouse, but also at Paris. The date which the authors give for his birth (1180) cannot be maintained in face of the evidence supplied by Professor Louis J. Paetow, in the Preface of his excellent edition of John's *Morale Scholarium*, 83¹⁵. But with that work, as well as with the contributions of other leading American medievalists, the authors show hardly any acquaintance.

Part VI is very valuable. Petrarch, Poggio, Politian, Bembo, Thomas a Kempis, Erasmus, More, Johannes Secundus, Buchanan, Francis Bacon, Cowley, Milton, and many others are discussed here. As may be seen from this partial list of authors treated, the authors reverted to their original plan of treating prose writers and poets together. Much can be said here again of omissions. The authors show no trace of familiarity with the work of Professor W. P. Mustard, of The Johns Hopkins University, on Baptista Mantuanus, Antonio Geraldini, and Jacopo Sannazaro. Of the Italian writers of Eclogues only Sannazaro is named (354): not a word is said about his Piscatory Eclogues¹⁶. To the German¹⁷ and French Renaissance Latinists little space is given. More could have been said about the Latin works of Milton. Here again the authors seem not to be familiar with the recent American contributions to the study of Latin works of Milton, at least if we may judge by the Bibliography, which fails to list even a single item of Milton's Latin works.

In the brief Epilogue (398-399) the authors deplore the fact that nowadays only a small class can read and write Latin with fluency. They further express doubts whether the substitution of other languages for Latin, the language of scholarship and diplomacy, is of any advantage.

One gets the impression that the Bibliography was dictated in haste. It is very poorly put together. It is, moreover, in many cases antiquated, and not dependable. I have already hinted that American scholarship is ignored in this book. Only three Ameri-

can names are listed in the Bibliography, those of Professor Harrington (*Mediaeval Latin*, Selected and Edited <Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1925> [402]), Professor Rand (his translation of Boethius in The Loeb Classical Library [403]), and Professor P. S. Allen (*The Romanesque Lyric* <University of North Carolina Press, 1928>, [406]). But other labors of Professor Rand, as well as works by Professors Beeson, Haskins, Paetow, Sanders, Mustard, Ullman, and the contributions to the study of the Latin works of Milton are not mentioned. For Maximian's *Elegies* the reader is referred (403) to "P. L. M. 5" (= *Poetae Latini Minores*), but the edition of R. Webster with a commentary (Princeton University Press, 1900), is not mentioned. Why refer the student (403) to "P. L. 66" (*Patrologia Latina*, 66) for a text of St. Benedict's Rule? There exists an excellent edition of his Rule, with a commentary, by Benno Linderbauer (Metten, Benediktinerstift, 1922)¹⁸. The title of P. Labriolle's work (402) is not "Latin Christianity", but *History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius*. K. Strecker's edition of Hrotsvitha's works (Leipzig, Teubner, 1930) ought to have been included on page 404. One misses here, too, Paul Monceaux, *Histoire de la Littérature Latine Chrétienne* (Paris, 1924). To make no mention of the series entitled *Lateinische Literaturdenkmäler des XVI-XVI Jahrhunderts*, edited by M. Hermann and S. Szamatolski (Berlin, Weidmann), is a great mistake¹⁹. The *Pam-machius* of Kirchmayer and the *Acolastus* of Volder, mentioned briefly on page 384, have been ably edited in this series. The great work of Georg Ellinger, *Geschichte der Neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im Sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (two volumes. Berlin, Ws de Gruyter, 1929), certainly ought to have found a place in the Bibliography²⁰.

HUNTER COLLEGE,
NEW YORK

JACOB HAMMER

AMERICAN ILLUSTRATIONS OF ANCIENT ROMAN LIFE

I have been reading with much interest a book entitled *Back Yonder: An Ozark Chronicle*, by Wayman Hogue (New York, Minton, Balch, and Company, 1932). The author describes life in the Ozark Mountains as he knew it, as boy and young man, forty years ago. I quote some passages because they throw light on ancient Roman life, especially on the earlier and more primitive aspects of that life (aspects which, we may well believe, were characteristic of that life, outside the great centers of population, until very late times. I prefix to each quotation the pages on which the quotation may be found.

<4-5> There is nothing I remember more vividly than our old home and its surroundings. I remember

¹⁴If I am not mistaken, a revised edition of this book appeared two or three years ago.

¹⁵It seems illogical to include only one booklet of this series, namely Ellinger's *Deutsche Lyriker des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (373; compare 407). It would have been well also to refer to an edition of the *Basia* of Johannes Secundus in this Series, by Ellinger, rather than to an 1821 edition of Johannes's works (408).

²⁰Another indictment—very serious indeed—can be brought against this "Bibliography": the names of publishers are never given. C. K. >

¹⁴Karl Strecker's edition, *Die Cambriger Lieder* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1925), is not mentioned in the Bibliography.

¹⁵For this work see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 23, 196-198.

¹⁶Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Professor Wilfred P. Mustard (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1914). The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus and the Sacred Eclogues of Geraldini have also been edited by Professor Mustard, those of Baptista in 1911, those of Geraldini in 1924.

¹⁷The statement on pages 373-374, "...The Germans are good craftsmen, but they have very little to say...", is too general to be taken at its face value. A study of G. Ellinger's great work (see below, in the text) gives quite a different impression.

the "big house," one large room built of scalped logs, chinked and daubed, and floored with puncheons made of split logs with the flat side up and the surface hewn smooth. It was roofed with boards riven from choice oak and had overhead joists made of unbarked poles five or six inches in diameter.

There was no loft or ceiling, but some long boards were placed across the joists on which were stored baskets of apples, bags of peanuts and sacks of cotton. I also remember how, in the fall of the year, my mother would slice pumpkins in rings and string them on a stick to dry. These sticks containing rings of pumpkins extending from one joist to another were a familiar sight.

There were two doors in the big house, one on each side, called the front door and the back door. There were no windows, and all light and ventilation came from the open doors and the unceiled cracks in the walls between the logs.

<6-7> The entire family slept in the big house. There were three large cord beds, two in the back part of the house—one in each corner—and the third in a corner next to the fireplace. In place of slats there were ropes running through and around the railings and woven tight. On this network of ropes rested the beds. First there was a straw mattress and on this a full heavy feather bed.

My father and mother slept on one of the beds in the back of the house and my sisters on the other, and Jim and I slept on the bed near the fireplace. We also had a trundle bed under one of the large beds, which could be drawn out and used for company. My mother could always take care of still more company by making down a feather bed in the middle of the floor.

<8> The usual way of lighting our house by night was with pine. The heart of the seasoned pine, when split into strips, made a splendid torch, and the knots of decayed pine were very rich in rosin. A pine knot thrown into the fire lighted the whole room. Sometimes, when out of pine knots, we used candles which we molded ourselves. I also remember seeing my mother put sycamore balls in a saucer of grease and light the end of the stem. This made a dim flickering light.

<11-13> Since our house was far from airtight during the severe cold of the winter we had to keep heavy fires going. In making a fire we raked the ashes from the back, and my father laid in a back stick, as heavy as he could carry. He then placed another smaller stick in front, each end resting on a rock about the size of a brick. We knew nothing about andirons then. In between the two sticks of wood, we piled smaller wood, and built on up.

We had no friction matches, and it was very important that we keep fires from going out. To do this we covered the fire with ashes before we went to bed, so that we would have live coals to start with the next morning. However, it was often the case that the fires went completely out anyway, and we then had to go to a neighbor's house and "borry" some fire. Many were the times when I had to get up in the cold and go to John Stewart's house a half mile distant, and "borry a chunk o' far," before we could build a fire in our house.

When we had to go off to borrow fire, we wanted it for immediate needs, and we therefore went in a hurry, got it in a hurry, and came back in a hurry. Even now,

when a mountain man visits a neighbor and hints at going, the neighbor will say, "What's yer hurry? Did ye come arter a chunk o' far?"

We could solve our fire problem by creating the spark ourselves. On several occasions I have taken flint and held it just over some dry cotton lint and given the flint a downward stroke with my closed pocket knife. On doing this a spark would fly from the flint and strike the lint. I would blow this until it ignited and the fire was started.

I was ten years old before I ever heard of a cooking stove. We did all of our cooking on the kitchen fireplace. This necessitated fire in the kitchen every day in the year. The chips which I so often had to unwillingly quit my play for and bring in were used in cooking. The chips quickly burnt into coals, which were necessary in baking. My mother would rake out some coals, and put over them a three legged skillet in which she placed biscuits. She then put a lid over the skillet and heaped coals on the lid. In this way she baked wonderful biscuits; I have never eaten any since as good.

<61> We went into a variety store and saw some people looking at an oil lamp. It was a small brass lamp, with a handle and no chimney, which burned a little round wick. It seemed to be quite an improvement over the sperm candle and pine torch, and it cost only fifty cents. My father bought it, and this completed our shopping.

<67-68> When Uncle Ben and Parson Yates left, we resumed the subject of the lamp. Jim and I took sides with my father, and Jim volunteered to light it and give it a try out. My father would not allow this, but he filled it with oil and took it down into the orchard and set it on a stump. He then went back to the house, tied a piece of pine to a ten foot pole, lighted the end of the pine and went down to the lamp. He reached the pole out to the lamp, standing as far away from it as he could. My mother had gone back to the house, refusing to have anything to do with it. We children stood on the inside of the fence with great excitement, eagerly watching for the fireworks to go off.

My father, fearful and trembling, touched the lighted pine to the wick and, with great haste, ran back and jumped over the fence where we were. The little lamp popped and flickered, the blaze going over to one side and then to the other, and finally burning straight up in a bright blue flame. My father called my mother out, and we all watched the lamp for some time. He then went down and touched it with the pole. The little lamp seemed to be perfectly tame and burned along quietly. He then became more courageous and picked up the lamp in his hands. It still showed no signs of becoming violent, so he took it triumphantly into the house.

<17-18> The fruit of the oak, the acorn, is very fattening for hogs, and when the acorns fell plentifully, we said the mast was good. When there was good mast, our hogs thrived without much feeding. They ran in the woods, but my father always called them up at night to feed them, so that they might sleep near the house. The hog call still rings in my ears as I picture my father outside the gate, uttering in a loud tone of voice the droll, bowling call, "Peegoo-eee, pig, pig; pe-goo-eee."

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